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CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

THE DOUBLE TEXT OF TOBIT.

CONTRIBUTION TOWARD A CRITICAL INQUIRY.

THE recent publication of the various texts of the apocryphal story of Aḥiḳar has brought once more into relief the duality that characterizes the tradition of so many of the books of the Old Testament in the Septuagint version. For it was not only found that Aḥiḳar was a companion volume to Tobit, whose author had derived certain details in the story and teaching of his afflicted righteous man from another story of long-suffering virtue, but it was also found that the coincidence between the two works was greater or less according to the recension of the book of Tobit that was consulted. It was less in comparison with the Vatican text than it was with the Sinaitic. And this fact alone arouses the suspicion that the Sinaitic text of Tobit has in some respects priority, critically, over the text of the Vatican MS.; and it invites us to re-examine the divergent texts of the book of Tobit and find, if possible, a reason for their divergence. Suppose, for instance, that in editing the story of Aḥiḳar, from which Tobit can be shown to have borrowed, we find the names of certain famous Assyrian kings, and that these names appear also in the book of Tobit, but in a variety of spellings, it might reasonably be held that those texts of Tobit which give the names of the kings in the earliest form — that, viz., which is nearest to the Assyrian — have some sort of priority over those texts which exhibit a later spelling. It is true that this may only be a suspicion, but it is a suspicion that may set us on track of a demonstration.

Take, for example, the name of Esarhaddon; it appears in the Vatican text of Tobit as Σαχερδονός, which is generally the spelling of the Sinaitic, except that the text betrays the existence of an earlier spelling Σαχερδών, for we have the expression, ἐπὶ Σαρχεδόνος βασιλείῳ, and this spelling is confirmed in one case by the Alexandrian MS., which reads Σαχερδάν. So far as this name goes, the evidence which it furnishes is against the superior antiquity of the Vatican text of Tobit, which has Græcized the name of the Assyrian king.

The same thing appears in the spelling of the name of Aḥiḳar, to

whom Tobit frequently refers. There can be little doubt that the form Ἀχιάχαρος which is in the Vatican text is again a Græcized form, for we find in the Sinaitic text a form Ἀχεικάρ actually existing along with other intermediate spellings. That is, we begin to suspect that an earlier form has been edited away, and that the change has been more effectually made in the Vatican than in the Sinaitic text.

When we pass from the spelling of the names to the actual texts, we find traces of similar phenomena. In the fourteenth chapter of Tobit we have the most famous of all the references to Aḥīkar, which was until recently quite inexplicable, and precisely in this passage the variation between the Vatican and the Sinaitic texts is conspicuous. We have to compare :

(B)

τέκνον, ἴδε τί ἐποίησεν Ἀδὰμ Ἀχια-
χάρῳ τῷ θρέψαντι αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ
φωτὸς ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος καὶ
ὅσα ἀνταπέδωκεν αὐτῷ· καὶ Ἀχιάχαρον
μὲν ἔσωσεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸ ἀνταπόδομα
ἀπεδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς κατέβη εἰς τὸ σκό-
τος· Μανασσῆς ἐποίησεν ἐλεημοσύνην,
καὶ ἐσώθη ἐκ παγίδος θανάτου ἧς ἔπη-
ξεν αὐτῷ, Ἀδὰμ δὲ ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὴν
παγίδα καὶ ἀπώλετο.

(N)

ἴδε, παιδίον, ὅσα Ναδάβ ἐποίησεν
Ἀχεικάρῳ τῷ ἐκθρέψαντι αὐτόν, οὐχί
ζῶν κατηνέχθη εἰς τὴν γῆν; καὶ ἀπέδω-
κεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀτιμίαν κατὰ πρόσωπον
αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ φῶς Ἀχίκα-
ρος, καὶ Ναδάβ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ σκότος
τοῦ αἵωνος ὅτι ἐζήτησεν ἀποκτεῖναι
Ἀχείκαρον. ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι με ἐλεημο-
σύνην ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ θανά-
του ἧς ἔπηξεν αὐτῷ Ναδάβ, καὶ Ναδάβ
ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν παγίδα τοῦ θανάτου καὶ
ἀπώλεσεν.

Now, without going over the differences in detail, and correcting the individual errors, we may say that there are expansions in the Sinaitic text, which are explained by the actual story of Aḥīkar, with regard to his quasi-sepulture under his own house, and these expansions could not easily have been made without a direct dependence upon the text of Aḥīkar. There is thus a good probability that they are primitive features of the book of Tobit, the author of which has been shown to know and use that earlier legend. But if this be the case, we are face to face again with the problem as to the relative value of the two divergent recensions of Tobit, and we start upon an inquiry into the relative merits of the two recensions with something of a predilection for the Sinaitic form of telling the story.

But here we must move very cautiously, for a little further examination shows that it is not a very simple problem, nor is the evidence all one way. For instance, in Tobit, chap. 4, after the old man has given instructions to his son to bury him, he proceeds with a short discourse on ethics, which ought to be headed "The Teaching of Tobit," for it is a veritable *Διδαχή* and may be compared with that which is named after the apostles. The antiquity of this inserted tract is evident from the close parallelism between itself and the Teaching of Aḥiḳar, whole sentences of which it incorporates. That which is borrowed by Tobit from Aḥiḳar ought certainly to be a part of the original draft of Tobit; but the curious thing is that the whole, or almost the whole, of the Teaching is absent from the Sinaitic recension. Fortunately there are opening and closing fragments of the Teaching still existing, which show that it must once have stood in the Sinaiticus; such sentences as

Tob. 4 : 5, *πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας σου, παιδίον, τοῦ κυρίου μνημόνευε,*

Tob. 4 : 19, *καὶ νῦν, παιδίον, μνημόνευε τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας, καὶ μὴ ἐξαλειφθῇ-
τωσαν ἐκ τῆς καρδίας σου,*

are sufficient to show that a series of ethical instructions once stood in the Sinaitic text, and such ethical matter must have been parallel in some points with that we find in the Vatican. If the Sinaitic text had not presented the broken fragments which betray excision, we should have been tempted seriously to lower the value of that recension on account of the omission of matter which was clearly of the earliest type. But as the omission was deliberate, the value of the recension in what was not omitted is not necessarily lowered. We can, however, see how complicated a matter the tradition of these early documents often becomes, and how careful one has to be not to draw too rapid conclusions.

Another reason for caution lies in the consideration that, even if the Sinaitic recension has certain suggestive signs of superior antiquity, it does not follow that these are in evidence as regards the excellence of the whole of the text. It might, for example, be the result of the revision of the Greek text by a Hebrew (or Aramaic) original, and in that case the revision would be redolent of antiquity, although made upon a possibly inferior Greek base. Something of this kind occurs in the book of Esther, and in many other parts of the Septuagint, where the readings of Aquila's translation have been imported into either the margin or the text. They can generally be recognized either by the fact that they conform the text to the Hebrew, or by their

betraying peculiarities which are characteristic of Aquila.¹ Wherever such a Septuagint text has been revised into greater agreement with the Hebrew by means of Aquila's version, the recension produced will have marks of superior antiquity, which may, however, be quite fallacious as far as the editing of the text of the Septuagint goes; for the archaic features may not be a part of the true Septuagint.

These considerations may suffice to suggest to us the care with which it is necessary to proceed in estimating the value of the recensions of the book of Tobit. In fact, the recensions cannot be really evaluated until we have some idea of the causes which have led to their existence.

We may confine ourselves, then, at first to the following statement: The book of Tobit, like so many other books of the Septuagint, exists in what appears to be a pair of distinct recensions, and in Tobit itself the recensions are so distinct that the editors are constrained to print one beneath the other, taking the Vatican text as the standard, and giving the Sinaitic text the alternative place. Certain peculiarities, to which we have drawn attention, suggest that the greater antiquity lies with the Sinaitic text; but whether this justifies us in giving it the place of honor, or in erecting it into a standard of reference, we must not too hastily decide.

The problem is one which meets us elsewhere, and we need to know more about the meaning and causes of the divergence before we commit ourselves to the special patronage of one or the other of the involved forms.

Now, instead of beginning, as might seem most natural, with the printed texts of Tobit, and reading them side by side, in order to determine how they stand in order of time and historical development, with a view to the further determination of the causes which produced recension B out of recension A, or the converse, or which produced them both from a lost type, I propose to try an independent method of inquiry somewhat less mechanical than that which is involved in the collation *inter se* of divergent types of text.

We shall ask the question whether any earlier extracts exist from the book of Tobit which may be capable of identification with one of the published recensions rather than with the other.

¹ For example, when in Esther 6:1 the corrector א^{c-a} adds λόγων to μνημόσυνα, this is because the Hebrew has לִבְרִי; when in 6:2 the same corrector in the margin restores γραφέντα for a missing τὰ γραφέντα, he does this for a Hebrew כְּתוּב; when in 6:10 he adds on the margin ταχως λαβε συν το ενδυμα κτέ, the inserted συν shows that he is revising from Aquila; etc.

We begin with the simplest possible case, viz., the well-known dictum of Tobit with regard to the saving virtue of alms. This passage, "alms doth deliver from death," is one that occurs twice in the Vatican recension of the book of Tobit, first in the ethical tract which we have called the Teaching of Tobit (Tob. 4:10), and again in what may perhaps be called the Teaching of Raphael (Tob. 12:8), when that mendacious angel gives the family of Tobit a farewell lecture on truth and charity. In the Sinaitic text the Teaching of Tobit is, as we have shown above, excised. Now, we have also shown that this sentence has a peculiar value in the text of Tobit, inasmuch as it is not merely a résumé of Tobit's own personal virtue, but is also an epitome of the ethical excellence of Aḥikar; and we have pointed out that the famous dictum about salvation by almsgiving was, in the first instance, deduced from the supposed historical adventures of the Sage of Nineveh. This is admitted in the dying words of Tobit (Tob. 14:10), that "Manasses (*i. e.*, Aḥikar) gave alms and was saved from the snare of death. . . . Consider, my son, how almsgiving . . . delivereth." It is certain, then, that the sections on almsgiving belong to the first form of Tobit. If the Sinaitic recension has failed to present the words in Tob. 4:10, it is because a deliberate abbreviation has been made at this point of the book, an abbreviation which, as we have shown above, is betrayed by the fragments which the excisor did not completely cut away.

Let us now consider one or two authorities who quote the famous dictum. We begin with the last chapter of the epistle of Polycarp (extant only in Latin). Polyc. 10: ". . . mansuetudinem domini alterutri præstolantes, nullum despicientes. Cum possitis benefacere, nolite differre quia eleemosyna de morte liberat." A comparison of this with the Tobit passages shows that it is taken, not from the Teaching of Raphael, but from the Teaching of Tobit (Tob. 4:10). For in this section we have the parallel instructions to despise and overlook no one (*μὴ φθονεσάτω σου ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν σε ἐλεημοσύνην· καὶ μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπὸ παντὸς πτωχοῦ*): to do good according to our ability (*ὡς σοὶ ὑπάρχει κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ποίησον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεημοσύνην*), which latter instruction refers, at first sight, rather to the extent of gifts than to the time of bestowing them; as if it were merely a repetition of *ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σου* in vs. 7. On turning, however, to Gal. 6:10, we suspect that St. Paul has been at work on the same ethical rule, for he says: *ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν*, which interprets *ὡς σοὶ ὑπάρχει* in a temporal sense, adds a qualifying clause, "but especially to the household of

faith," which suggests that he is modifying a previously existing rule; and significantly omits the statement about the saving power of alms-giving, which would have vitiated the whole of his argument to the Galatians.

If, then, Polycarp has been quoting Tobit, as is undoubtedly the case, the balance of the argument is in favor of a quotation from the Teaching of Tobit, and not from the Teaching of Raphael. And if there is any ground for our suspicion that St. Paul has also been using Tobit (which must certainly have been a part of his library), it is to the earlier chapters of Tobit that his loan must be referred, and not to the later.

Unfortunately, even if the argument were better reinforced than it is (for there is still something to be desired in that direction), we are not much farther on in the criticism of the Tobit texts. We cannot say much in favor of the Vatican text, in view of the evident excision of the corresponding matter in the Sinaitic recension.

Let us turn, in the next place, to the second epistle of Clement, where in the sixteenth chapter we find as follows: 2 Clem., *ad Cor.*, 16: καλὸν οὖν ἐλεημοσύνη ὡς μετάνοια ἁμαρτίας· κρείσσων νηστεία προσευχῆς, ἐλεημοσύνη δὲ ἀμφοτέρων· ἀγάπη δὲ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν, προσευχὴ δὲ ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται. μακάριος πᾶς ὁ εὐρεθεὶς ἐν τούτοις πλήρης· ἐλεημοσύνη γὰρ κούφισμα ἁμαρτίας γίνεται. In this Clement is clearly following Tobit; for all the key-words of the Tobit teaching are here. We catch at once the refrain of ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται, although the writer has evaded the statement and corrected it. He has substituted "prayer" for "alms," and has made an apologetic modification that "alms" is an alleviation of "sin," though not exactly its ransom. He has, however, left uncorrected or half-corrected a statement of the relative rank (speaking soteriologically) of prayer, fasting, and alms. It is clear that they came to him in the order (reckoned from greatest to least): alms, fast, and prayer.

Without any reference to the actual sources from which he derives, we might infer that he was using a doctrine that prayer is good, but fasting is better, and alms is best of all; for alms doth deliver from death. He corrects this (1) by exchanging "prayer" and "alms" in the opening and closing sentences, but still leaves the uncorrected middle statement that "alms is best of all;" and, to avoid further misunderstanding, he adds the precept that it is love which is the real atonement. This last sentence was almost certainly not in his sources.

Now let us turn to his sources in the book of Tobit. A moment's investigation will show that it is not from the Teaching of Tobit, which is only ethical, and, except in a historical sense, is not soteriological. Turning to the Teaching of Raphael, we find the very same attempt to estimate the relative value of prayer, fast, and alms. The two recensions stand as follows :

TOB. 12 : 8.

Vatican text.

ἀγαθὸν προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἀγαθὸν τὸ ὀλίγον μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἢ πολὺ μετὰ ἀδικίας· καλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐλεημοσύνην ἢ θησαυρίσαι χρυσίον· ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται, καὶ αὕτη ἀποκαθαριεῖ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν· οἱ ποιοῦντες ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ δικαιοσύνας πλησθήσονται ζωῆς.

Sinaitic text.

ἀγαθὸν προσευχὴ μετὰ ἀληθείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μᾶλλον ἢ πλοῦτος μετὰ ἀδικίας· καλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐλεημοσύνην μᾶλλον ἢ θησαυρίσαι χρυσίον· ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται, καὶ αὕτη ἀποκαθαίρει πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν· οἱ ποιοῦντες ἐλεημοσύνην χορτασθήσονται ζωῆς.

Here, then, we have a concrete instance of the variation in the two recensions, which we are able to test by reference to a second-century quotation. And we notice (1) that the quotation in Clement is not to be dismissed with the word *memoriter*, for there is matter in it which has disappeared from both the Vatican and Sinaitic recensions, but was once a part of the text of Tobit. We turn to Holmes and Parsons, and find that the Zittau Codex (No. 44), with its companion, the Ferrara Codex (No. 106), have the reading : καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρω· κρεῖσσον ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην ἢ θησαυρίζειν χρυσίον. Here we have the missing words of Clement [ἐλεημοσύνη] δὲ ἀμφοτέρων. They have been suspected by us to be primitive, independently of MSS. authority, and here is the attestation. These words, then, are not due to Clement quoting from memory, and expanding and modifying his quotation, but to the text that Clement quotes. Behind the second epistle of Clement there lies a text of the Septuagint of an earlier type than that of either the Vatican or the Sinaitic codex. (2) Our next observation is that the pseudo-Clementine quotation invites us to restore the virtues in the upward order : prayer, fast, alms, so as to affirm that

Prayer is a good thing ;

Fasting is better than prayer ;

Almsgiving is better than both.

This shows that we must correct away the refinement of ἀληθείας

in the Sinaitic recension; the Vatican text is here the better, and is supported by Clement of Alexandria, who quotes the opening sentence with the slight variation: *νηστεία μετὰ προσευχῆς* (Clem. Alex., p. 791).

Beyond this I do not know that we can affirm much with regard to the relative value of the recensions. It appears that a primitive Hebrew or Aramaic *צדקה* has been translated doubly by *ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη*. If this be primitive, then the expression, *ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης*, of the Vatican text is earlier than *ἐλεημοσύνη μετὰ δικαιοσύνης* of the Sinaitic text, which is a modification of it, whose motive is found in the previous *προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας*. Lower down the Sinaitic recension has the simple rendering, *ἐλεημοσύνην* for *ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ δικαιοσύνας*. This may be a later correction, though the matter is far from certain.

Both the texts are strikingly Hebraistic in their use of the positive *καλὸν* and *ἀγαθὸν* for the Hebrew *טוב*, where the proper translation was *κρείσσων*. Clement's epistle has the opening *καλόν*, but changes to *κρείσσων* later on; he may, however, have simply improved the language of his text, and we must not infer that the primitive translation had anything except a positive adjective.*

So far, then, as the study of the single instance has taken us, we may say that the Vatican and Sinaitic recensions are closely connected *inter se*, with perhaps a slight presumption in favor of the superior antiquity of the former; but both of them appear to fall short of an accurate presentation of the text of the Septuagint.

We have devoted a good deal of attention to this passage from Pseudo-Clement, because of the importance of its evidence. The writer is certainly working from a Greek text, and therefore his evidence is valuable for the LXX. If the results are not very striking, they are not wholly valueless. We shall now turn to a much more remarkable case, which involves an extended quotation between Tobit and an early Hebrew or Aramaic writer, which will verify completely for us the suggestions as to the Semitic origin of the book of Tobit, and throw light upon the character of its primitive text.

The book of Jubilees has come down to us in Latin and in Ethiopic, both of which are derived from a lost Greek text; but behind the lost

* As long as modern revisers are allowed to present us in the New Testament with Hebraizing logia in such words as, "He will say, the old is good," and modern divines preach sermons on the text thus emended, we must not be surprised at the roughness of early texts of the LXX.

Greek text there lies a lost Hebrew original, of which fragments have come down to us in the Midrashim. This lost Hebrew book was a "haggadic commentary on Genesis, important as being the chief and practically sole monument of legalistic pharisaism belonging to the century immediately preceding the Christian era."³

In the twenty-seventh chapter of the book of Jubilees we find the account of the departure of Jacob for Mesopotamia. The domestic scene is presented to us by the commentator, who dilates upon the tears of Rebecca at the loss of her son. Isaac comforts her with arguments of masculine wisdom, and Jacob is sent away with an abundance of paternal benedictions.

Now, there is nothing unnatural in such a piece of haggada at such a point; it is the common ground for story-tellers, whether in the East or West, an obvious expansion for which Shakespeare furnishes an agreeable and playful imitation in Launce's soliloquy on leaving home.⁴ But obvious though the haggada may be—for Rebecca with dry eyes or untold tears is not to be thought of—it is by no means an obvious thing that the departure of Jacob for Mesopotamia should be told in precisely the same terms as the departure of Tobias for Media; and we proceed to draw out the coincidences between the two accounts and to explain, if possible, their interdependence.

The following is the Latin text of the passage in question: "Et emisit Isac Jacob, et abiit in Mesopotamiam ad Laban filium Bathuel Syri, fratrem Rebeckæ matris Jacob. Et factum est quando abiit in Mesopotamiam, contristatus est spiritus Rebeckæ post Jacob filium suum et flevit. Et dixit Isac ad Rebeckam, Soror, noli flere Jacob filium meum, quoniam in pace ibit et in pace rediet. Et Deus excelsus custodiet eum ab omni malo et erit cum ipso et non derelinquet eum omnibus diebus. Quoniam scio ego quod dirigentur omnes viæ ejus in omnibus, in quibus iter faciet, quousque revertatur ad nos in pace, et videbimus eum cum pace. Noli ergo timere de illo, soror mea, quoniam in via recta est et erit perfectus vir [et] verax et non derelinquetur: noli flere! Et consolabatur Isac Rebeckam pro Jacob filio suo et benedixit eum."

We will now examine the parallel passages in Tobit, premising that the wailing of Anna and consolation of Tobit occur twice over, once

³ CHARLES, *Book of Jubilees*, p. ix.

⁴ "My mother weeping, my father wailing, my sister crying, our maid howling, our cat wringing her hands, and all our house in a great perplexity."

—"Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act II, sc. 3.

when Tobias departs and later on in the story when his mother suggests that he will never return :

TOB. 5 : 18—6 : 1a.

Vatican Text.

ἔκλαυσεν δὲ Ἄννα ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Τωβεῖτ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Τωβεῖτ Μὴ λόγον ἔχε, ἀδελφή· ὑγιαίνων ἐλεύσεται, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὄψονται αὐτόν· ἄγγελος γὰρ ἀγαθὸς συνπορεύσεται αὐτῷ καὶ εὐδοθήσεται ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑποστρέψει ὑγιαίνων. καὶ ἐπαύσατο κλαίονσα.

Sinaitic Text.

καὶ ἔκλαυσεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Τωβεῖθ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Μὴ λόγον ἔχε, ὑγιαίνων πορεύσεται τὸ παιδίον ἡμῶν καὶ ὑγιαίνων ἐλεύσεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὄψονται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἂν ἔλθῃ, πρὸς σέ ὑγιαίνων· μὴ λόγον ἔχε, μὴ φοβοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀδελφή· ἄγγελος γὰρ ἀγαθὸς συνελεύσεται αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐδοθήσεται ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑποστρέψει ὑγιαίνων. καὶ ἐσίγησεν κλαίονσα.

TOB. 10 : 4—6.

Vatican Text.

εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, Ἀπώλετο τὸ παιδίον, διότι κεχρόνικεν· καὶ ἤρξατο θρηνεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ μέλει μοι, τέκνον, ὅτι ἀφῆκά σε τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου; καὶ Τωβεῖτ λέγει αὐτῇ Σίγα, μὴ λόγον ἔχε, ὑγιαίνει. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Σίγα, μὴ πλάνα με· ἀπώλετο τὸ παιδίον μου.

Sinaitic Text.

καὶ Ἄννα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ λέγει Ἀπώλετο τὸ παιδίον μου καὶ οὐκέτι ὑπάρχει ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν. καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίειν καὶ θρηνεῖν περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ εἶπεν Οὐαί μοι, τέκνον, ὅτι ἀφῆκα σε πορευθῆναι τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου. καὶ Τωβεῖθ ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ Σίγα, μὴ λόγον ἔχε, ἀδελφή, ὑγιαίνει· καὶ μάλα περισπασμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ πορευθεὶς μετ' αὐτοῦ πιστός ἐστιν καὶ εἰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν· μὴ λυποῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀδελφή, ἥδη παρέσται.

And to these two accounts of Anna's laments over her son must be added a previous sentence relating to the farewell of Tobias :

TOB. 5 : 16, 17.

Vatican Text.

καὶ ἔτι προσθήσω σοι ἐπὶ τὸν μισθόν, ἂν ὑγιαίνοντες ἐπιστρέψῃτε. εὐδόκησαν οὕτως· καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Τωβίαν Ἐτοιμος γίνου πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν· καὶ εὐδοωθείτε.

Sinaitic Text.

καὶ ἐπιπροστήσω σοι τῷ μισθῷ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι Πορεύσομαι μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ φοβηθῇς· ὑγιαίνοντες ἀπελεύσομεθα καὶ ὑγιαίνοντες ἐπιστρέψομεν

καὶ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὴν
ὁδόν· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Πορεύου
μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
οἰκῶν θεὸς εὐοδώσει τὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῶν, καὶ
ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ συνπορευθήτω ὑμῖν.

πρὸς σε, διότι ἡ ὁδὸς ἀσφαλής. καὶ
εἶπεν αὐτῷ Εὐλογία σοι γένοιτο, ἀδελφέ.
καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν
αὐτῷ Παιδίον, ἡτοίμασον τὰ πρὸς τὴν
ὁδὸν καὶ ἔξελθε μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου,
καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ διασώσαι
ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι ὑμᾶς πρὸς
ἐμὲ ὑγιαίνοντας, καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ
συνοδοῦσαι ὑμῖν μετὰ σωτηρίας, παι-
δίον.

Comparing the lamentation in Tobit with that in the book of Jubilees, we are struck with the similarity of the language. Each of the old gentlemen addresses his wife as sister; each of them enjoins his companion not to weep, predicts going in peace and returning in peace, promises that her eyes shall see him again. This general resemblance is so conspicuous that we can pick up for almost every word in the Vatican text of Tob. 5 : 18 ff., printed above, an exact parallel in the Latin of Jubilees, as follows :

ἔκλαυσεν δὲ Ἄννα	= <i>et flevit</i>
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Τωβείτ Μὴ λόγον ἔχε,	= <i>et dixit Isac ad Rebekcam: noli</i>
ἀδελφή. ὑγιαίνων ἐλεύσεται	<i>flere, soror, quoniam in pace ibit</i>
καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὄψονται αὐτὸν	= <i>et videbimus eum cum pace</i>
καὶ εὐοδωθήσεται ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ	= <i>dirigentur omnes viæ ejus</i>
καὶ ὑποστρέψει ὑγιαίνων	= <i>in pace rediet</i>

The coincidence between the two accounts is so striking that they can hardly be regarded as independent. But if this be so for the text as it occurs in the Vatican Codex, the coincidence is much more strongly brought out in the Sinaitic text. Here we have for ὑγιαίνων ἐλεύσεται the more correct ὑγιαίνων πορεύσεται (= *in pace ibit*), the addition τὸ παιδίον ἡμῶν which stands for *filium meum* in Jubilees, and the parallels :

καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὄψονται ἐν τῇ	= <i>quousque revertatur ad nos in pace</i>
ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἂν ἔλθῃ πρὸς σε ὑγιαίνων	<i>et videbimus eum cum pace</i>
μὴ φοβοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀδελφή	= <i>noli ergo timere de illo, soror mea</i>

Moreover, it is the Sinaitic text that explains some of the perplexing sentences in Jubilees. Tobit says : "Quoniam in via recta est et erit perfectus vir [et] verax et non derelinquetur; noli flere." The meaning of this is obscure; Tobias is said to be in the right way, which

presumably means a safe way; but what is meant by saying that he is to be a perfect man, true, and not forsaken, is not clear. When, however, we find that in Tob. 5:16 the angel says, "We shall go in peace and return in peace, *ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἀσφαλής*," we catch the meaning of Tobias' being in the right way. And when in Tob. 10:4 ff. we find Tobit arguing that "the man who has gone with him is *πιστός* and is one of our brethren; therefore do not grieve," we have the key to the words "*vir verax et non derelinquetur; noli flere.*"

Enough has been said to show the close connection between the Sinaitic Tobit and the text of Jubilees; they cannot any longer be regarded as independent. One of them has been borrowing from the other. Now, whichever way the dependence is, whether of Tobit on Jubilees or of Jubilees on Tobit, we are almost forced to admit that the loan was made in Hebrew or Aramaic; for the common matter belongs to the book of Jubilees in the original, and therefore, if borrowed by Jubilees, was borrowed in Hebrew or Aramaic; or, if it was borrowed by Tobit, the loan would have to be referred to the earliest stage of the textual history, since it has affected both the leading recensions, though one of them does not show the same phenomenal coincidences as the other; that is, it is the underlying Hebrew Tobit that is responsible for the peculiar expressions in the Vatican and Sinaitic texts.

The question, then, is: Which author (Tobit or Jubilees) borrowed the terms of the other? There is nothing *a priori* against literary imitations of a previous author by Tobit; rather, we have shown how ready the writer of Tobit was to appropriate incidents and ideas in the tale of Aḥīkar. And certainly the situation of Tobit going to Media is so like that of Jacob leaving for Mesopotamia that, if the writer of Tobit had known the haggadic expansion in Jubilees, he might very well have turned it to a useful literary end by working the separate sentences into the framework of his book.

It seems, however, pretty clear that the borrowing is the other way; for many of the expressions which constitute the borrowed matter are characteristic of Tobit. When Tobit calls his wife sister, we find Raguel in Tob. 8:16 using the same term of endearment to his wife Edna; and when Tobias prays for Sara and himself, he calls her "this my sister," and addresses her in a similar manner. The peculiar address comes, then, from the novelist, and not from the commentator.

The same thing might almost have been inferred from the way in which the perfectly natural statement of Tobit that Azarias is "a trusty

man" appears in the book of Jubilees in the form that Jacob is *vir verax* (ἀνθρώπος πιστός). The point of the remark is that Azarias is able to take care of Tobias, and not that Jacob is able to take care of himself. We infer, then, that Jubilees has expanded from the Hebrew (or Aramaic) Tobit.

From this there follows at once a number of important conclusions.

First of all it follows that either the Sinaitic Tobit is nearer to the original Hebrew, and so is the better recension, or else it has been corrected from the Hebrew (or some version depending on the Hebrew) so as to present a better text than that of the Vatican text, though not necessarily a better text of the *Septuagint*. It is difficult to believe that the Vatican recension is a mere abbreviation of the Sinaitic, yet the continual agreements in rendering are such as to require a common Greek original; so it seems almost necessary to infer that the Sinaitic version of Tobit is a reconstruction of an existing text into closer harmony with the Hebrew.

Neither of the two recensions, however, preserves the Hebrew (or Aramaic) form in such a case as we discussed above with regard to the relative merit of prayer, fasting, and alms.

It follows, in the next place, that if we have rightly convicted the haggadist of Jubilees of expanding his text of Genesis from current literature of his own day, the chances are that he has done the same thing elsewhere, and this consideration may help to explain the presence at the end of the book of Jubilees of a document dealing with the death of Moses (which has commonly been isolated and printed as the lost Assumption of Moses).

We are now in a position to go back to the two parallel texts of Tobit, as existing in the Sinaitic and Vatican codices, and test them more particularly in the light of the conclusions that have been reached; and some very important points will immediately become clear with regard to the two companion stories (Aḥikar and Tobit) and the two companion texts of Tobit, viz., the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS.

Let us take an instance: the reader of Aḥikar will have been struck with the remarkable terms that are used to describe the king of Assyria, who is spoken of as king of *Assyria and Nineveh*.⁵ The appellation is so peculiar that the biblical student will readily concede it to be the primitive form. How is it, then, that in the opening sentences of Tobit, which are the literary parallel to the opening sentences of

⁵ *E. g.*, Aḥikar, p. 58; king of Assyria and Nineveh *bis*, p. 67; *bis*, foster-child of Assyria and Nineveh, p. 69, etc.

Aḥikar, we find no such expression, but only the expression "king of the Assyrians;" nor do we find the country spoken of, at least in the Vatican text, by the curious double title? When, however, we begin to examine the Sinaitic text, we find traces of the very same expression; thus:

Tob. 14:4, καὶ ἀπαντήσῃ ἐπὶ Ἀθήρ καὶ Νινευή

Tob. 14:14, ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Νινευή καὶ Ἀθουρείας, which shows that the Sinaitic text is derived from one which described the empire as it is described in Aḥikar.

Probably this is also the explanation of the peculiar Vatican reading of Tob. 14:4,

τὴν ἀπωλίαν Νινευή [ἣν ἡχμαλώτισεν Ναβουχοδονοσορ] καὶ Ἀσύηρος, where Ἀσύηρος looks very like a corruption of Ἀθὺρ or Ἀθουρείας, and the bracketed words are either a gloss or a displacement. Next turn to Tob. 14:4 and observe how, in the context, the Sinaitic text has preserved another original trait in the expression: τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Νινευή, ἃ ἐλάλησεν Ναούμ, ὅτι πάντα ἔσται καὶ ἀπαντήσῃ ἐπὶ Ἀθήρ καὶ Νινευή. It has long been recognized that Ναούμ and not Ἰωνᾶς is the true reading in this place. The Sinaitic, then, is the better text, and it either represents the original Semitic more closely than does the Vatican text, or has been corrected from the original Semitic.

But what Semitic text was it? Hebrew or Aramaic? There can only be one answer in view of the forms Ἀθὺρ and Ἀθουρεία. They are not Hebrew, but Aramaic.

We have thus arrived at a fairly conclusive demonstration of the superiority of the Sinaitic Tobit, and of the existence in it of elements derived from the Aramaic. And we have obtained further evidence of the close literary parallelism of the two stories, Aḥikar and Tobit.

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THE EDICT OF TOLERANCE OF LOUIS XVI. (1787) AND ITS AMERICAN PROMOTERS.

THE war of the Camisards had shown that the Huguenots in France were unconquerable by brute force. The most powerful king of Europe must use persuasion and bribery in order to bring about the pacification of the Cevenol mountaineers. Besides, Antoine Court, Benjamin du Plan, Jacques Roger, and their coadjutors in the work of the restoration of the Protestant church had proved by their steadfastness that the fear of the galleys, or even of death, could never force